Foreword

Now at last Hickinbotham occupied a position in which the scope of his responsibilities included the Aden Protectorate as well as the Colony of Aden, for as Governor and Commander-in-Chief he was Governor of the Protectorate as well as Governor of the Colony. It has been thought by some that the term "Governor of the Aden Protectorate" is a misnomer, for it is not the policy of the British Government to govern the Protectorate directly, but to leave the control of its internal affairs to the local Arab Rulers in treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Under these treaties the British Government are bound to give the Rulers protection against external attack, and through the Governor of Aden the Rulers also receive, when necessary, assistance in preserving internal security and also advice and financial help. The Colony of Aden is a small, mainly urban, territory of about 75 square miles: the Protectorate is a largely mountainous and thinly populated area with comparatively small fertile cultivable parts and is about the same size as the United Kingdom. The role of the Governor in the Protectorate thus differs fundamentally from his position in the Colony, where he is the head of a direct administration, and the problems with which he has to deal in the two areas are very different.

The Arabs of the Protectorate tribes made a natural appeal to Hickinbotham, as they have done to many other British officers and others whose work has brought them into contact with them and who can understand their outlook on life. In this book he has given a fascinating account of the Protectorate and its people based on practical sympathy and intimate knowledge, as well as an interesting description of Aden Colony and his experience in it in successive capacities. Sir Tom's position as Governor of the Aden Colony and Protectorate also necessitated his playing an active part in dealing with the question of British relations with the Yemen, the independent Arab Kingdom which lies to the north of the western part of the Protectorate, and his book includes informative chapters about this troublesome problem.

It is a pleasure to me to commend this work to all those who seek reliable information about this part of the world and

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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for our ships. As negotiations with the Lahej Sultan, who then owned the Aden Peninsula, had broken down, the deadlock was solved by force. The original owner of Little Aden was the Akrabi Sheikh, a quite unimportant person whose minute territory is surrounded on three sides by his infinitely larger and more powerful neighbour Lahej. Whether or not the Akrabi Sheikh was entitled to sell is a matter which has occupied the minds of the Sultans of Lahej from time to time even up to the present day, but sell the Sheikh did in 1888 and buy we did, and that for all practical purposes is that.

Aden has been safe from foreign aggressors since we ourselves filled that role in 1839, except for a brief period during the First World War when a part of what is now the Colony was occupied by Turkish forces. This rather curious state of affairs came about in this way: Lahej, the name usually given to the capital of the Sultanate of the same name, the premier of all the Protectorate States by virtue of the importance of that State combined with the fact that the Lahej Treaty was the first to be concluded in the year 1839, is only some 17 miles to the north of Sheikh Othman. In 1915 the Turkish wolf came down on the Aden fold by way of the donkey-cum-camel tracks from Taiz in the Yemen. The then Sultan of Lahej, a good friend of ours, marched against the common foe with what tribesmen he could rally to his banner and at the same time he very properly called on the General Officer Commanding the Aden Garrison for assistance. In Aden there was, of course, tremendous excitement as a column was hastily organised and assembled at Sheikh Othman. It was the most ill-fated column that ever set out; there were incredible delays at the start, with the result that the troops did not begin their advance until the sun was well up. It was the height of summer and the 17 miles across which they had to move on foot were sandy and devoid of practically all forms of cover. The water for the column was carried on camels; the camels ran away shortly after the start. Whether this was of their own volition or whether they were encouraged to do so by treacherous drivers is a matter of opinion, for no records of that disastrous march are known to exist. The troops continued their advance and they went on

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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648 military authorities throughout this episode in the history of the Colony.

643 In my early days in Aden, government was comparatively simple. The Resident, who was the senior civil official and *ex-officio* Commander-in-Chief, drove down to his office in Tawahi every morning from the Residency to deal with routine affairs and see anyone who cared to call on him. All were welcome, from the more senior departmental officers to the humblest of the humble of the subjects of His Majesty. Sir Bernard Reilly, who then held that position, had an amazing capacity for work and for play, and he succeeded in remaining outwardly completely unruffled even when dealing with important operations in the Protectorate which involved that much discussed topic, bombing, or when provoked by the Governments of both India and Bombay who invariably treated Aden as if it was a small town in the Bombay Presidency. Such was his conduct in public, but in private I have known him to express his views both freely and frankly.

645 In addition to the Resident there were four of us in the Secretariat, Gordon[1] of the Indian Political Service, who was the First Assistant Resident, Champion[2] of the Colonial Service, who was the Political Secretary, Lake,[3] the one and only Political Officer, and myself. I acted as Second Assistant Resident, in addition to my other duties at the Residency itself where I was a glorified A.D.C. Champion and Lake ran the Protectorate between them with the help of the head interpreter, Khan Bahadur Muhammed Salim Ali, an elderly gentleman with a Mongolian caste of countenance, who sat in a particularly small room under the stairs surrounded by papers, smoking a very bubbly water pipe, with his turban-like headdress on the back of his head or resting among the files, depending upon the heat of the room and his own degree of irritation. He had a remarkably hoarse voice and wore a pair of spectacles on the end of his nose, over which he peered at the crowd of Sheikhs, tribesmen and hangers-on, all wanting something and

[1] Now Lt.-Colonel J. de la H. Gordon, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C.
[2] Now Sir Reginald Champion, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.
[3] Lt.-Colonel M. C. Lake, C.M.G. (dec.).

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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000 generally withdrawn later. The official members must have been made of sterner stuff, or else they were anatomically unusual, for they never lost their unruffled calm throughout these Standing Finance Committee meetings, which were often long and tedious.

643 645 It is the Governor and the Governor alone who decides what matters should be brought before the Executive Council for their advice, and once he has submitted a subject to his Council and has been given advice, he is required to accept the unanimous view, or the majority view if unanimity is not possible. In very unusual circumstances the Governor can exercise his right to reject the advice he receives from his Council, but if he does then his reasons for so doing must be reported to the Secretary of State, and never in the ten years during which I was in one capacity or another connected with the Executive Council have I known the advice of the Council refused by the Governor.

645 [643] The procedure in Council is in no way complicated. The Governor presides and deals with routine matters first, keeping the more difficult items on the Agenda until the Council has had time to settle down; then he introduces the more complicated subjects and either invites a general discussion or seeks the views of each member individually. Sometimes there is a quick decision, and sometimes there is productive discussion, and sometimes it takes a long time before a conclusion can be arrived at, but invariably in my time did the record in the Minute Book read ". . . the Governor accepted the advice of Council and ordered accordingly".

I sat between the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General when I was first an "unofficial" member of the Council. The Chief Secretary sat on the right of the Governor who always asked the views of Council in a clockwise direction, which was greatly to my advantage because I was able to benefit from hearing practically everyone speak before it came to my own turn. At least it should have been greatly to my advantage, but on occasion it was quite extraordinary how little information I could gather from the remarks of the majority of my colleagues when I had neglected to do my own homework,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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and how tediously verbose they seemed when I had; but invariably the Attorney-General came to my rescue and I had but to agree with him and I was home, as it were. Our meetings were not at all like the free-and-easy chatty Port Trust affairs which, strangely enough, did twice the work in half the time. We were not unlike a rather serious-minded sixth form being taken by the Head in person. Individually we were a curious assortment of talent and mediocrity, inevitable in all great Services, guided very largely by remote control from London. The level in Aden was very high, and this combined with the smallness of the Aden Service made the oddities look odder than they really were. Among the various subjects which come before the Executive Council I think the most difficult, and certainly the most mentally disturbing, are the petitions for mercy from persons who had been sentenced to death. They are, I am glad to say, few and far between. In such cases the final decision will mean life or death to one person, and make no mistake about it, although the Governor has the advice of Council and he has their aid in the decision which he has to make, the decision is not theirs—it is his. The greatest care is exercised to ensure that a right decision is given and the record of the case and the judgments of the trying Judge and the Court of Appeal are available to the Members and to His Excellency, and they all have the benefit of hearing the clear, concise and unbiased statement of the Attorney-General. There is normally no general discussion after the Attorney-General has finished speaking, but if individual Members have points which they wish to have information upon, they are raised, and when there is no more to be said then the opinions of the Members of Council are taken. This is done according to custom in an unusual way and is in rotation, beginning with the most junior Member and so in order of seniority to the Chief Secretary who is the senior of the *ex-officio* Members of the Council. The question is simple and requires a Yes or a No; it is whether or not the prerogative of mercy should be exercised.

I did not take my seat in the Legislative Council as a nominated Unofficial Member for some time, in fact, not until there

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up our attitude in the course of my Address to the Legislative Council in reply to the Governor's Address at the formal opening of the new Session in 1949. The Governor's Address comes on the first day of the new Session and by tradition the Senior Unofficial Member replies immediately after "Questions" on the second day. I had drafted and re-drafted my speech, and I tried to learn the beginning and the end by heart, but when eventually I found myself on my feet in the Legislative Council I cannot recall that ever before have I felt so frightened. I had often read in the reminiscences of important personages that when they made their maiden speech in the House of Commons they had wondered at first who it was that was speaking and whose was the strange voice that they were hearing. I had thought this a gross exaggeration, but when I started to speak myself on this occasion I realised the truth of the statement. My voice sounded most peculiar at first, but after a time I began to be really interested in what I was saying and ceased to be nervous, at least not panic stricken; and to be quite frank, towards the end of my maiden effort I was slightly pleased with the progress I was making, especially when I was, so to speak, on the last lap. On that occasion I used these words:

". . . On behalf of my colleagues I assure Your Excellency that we are proud to be associated with, rather I should say, to be a part of, the Government of this Colony and we will ever be ready to undertake any work for the benefit of the community which Your Excellency may decide to entrust to us. We realise our responsibilities and measures necessary for the security and well-being of the people of Aden will always have our support, for only by a united and strong Government can the peace and prosperity of the Colony be assured. . . ."

Two years later on a similar occasion I made the position plainer still when I said:

". . . Much that I say in my address reflects the views of all

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"At the same time I feel it my duty to say that we realise that in the not too distant future an awakening sense of responsibility among the younger members of the community may justify Your Excellency's successor in making changes in the membership on the Unofficial side of the Council. If and when that time comes, I shall have occasion to refer to this later, we will be very willing and ready to do all that we can to co-operate. The honour of office has its undoubted attractions, just as it has its responsibilities, but those, and we trust that you will consider us among them, who really have the good and well-being of the people of the Colony at heart do not need the spur of public office to induce them to sacrifice their time and sometimes interests for the good of the community."

These may have been the words of one man, but it must be realised that they were the sentiments of all the Unofficial Members who had approved these words at a private meeting held in my office some days earlier. It was a broad enough hint for anyone, but little did I realise then that they were, in fact, addressed to myself and that it was I who was destined to be His Excellency's successor.

I am afraid that neither the Press nor the public were much interested in our work in the Council; there was nothing spectacular, it was not "news" and not even that section of the Press which was already beginning to write of self-government in a most uninstructed manner and to put forward the claims of Arabic to be recognised as an official language, took the trouble to be present at the Reporters' table during the ordinary meetings of the Council. This does not mean that editors and reporters were absent from the official opening ceremony of each new Session of the Council; this was our one gala day of the year when the Governor, in full uniform, complete with feathers in his hat, and wearing his Orders and Decorations, with guards of honour and salutes, formally opened the new Session and delivered "the gracious Address", after handing decorations to those whom His Majesty had been graciously pleased to honour. This was quite a different state

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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incident of travel but the overall progress that was made and that was, all things considered, reasonably satisfactory.

Progress throughout the area would have been more speedy and more spectacular if it had been possible to observe the old proverb in our dealings with some of the Rulers that "to spare the rod is to spoil the child". Children some of them were, and Teddy Boys were not lacking among their subjects, and while I agree that it is better whenever possible to lead children, there are times when even the most amiable child must be coerced in its own interest, and I have never faltered in my opinion that an ash plant, properly applied, is one of the few things that is effective in dealing with young thugs in this or any other country.

I think I can best give a general idea of the people of the Protectorate by describing briefly some of the journeys which I made to some of the States, and some of the people I met. These journeys are typical of what, during my term of office, were certainly monthly occurrences and for periods at a time were a weekly event. No one can hope to govern successfully unless he knows the people, and what is more important, they know him, so that whenever time allowed I toured formally and informally every part of the Protectorate, except Upper Yafa, to which neither I nor the Imam could gain access.

DHALA

Shortly after I became Governor I decided to pay another visit to the Amirate of Dhala, and one morning I drove myself in my Land-Rover, accompanied by a few Government Guards, across the desert to Lahej and on through the Haushabi country up into the foothills of the Amirate. Just below the final ascent up to the Dhala tableland I was met by the Naib, or Deputy Ruler. He was not a very exciting-looking person, being under middle height, very thin and having some congenital infirmity which caused him to drag one foot, but however unprepossessing his outward appearance, there was no doubt about his stoutness of heart or his loyalty, and his ability to ride up and down the hills of his homeland was quite

astonishing. He was certainly not an indifferent shot with a rifle and surprised Bill Goode on one occasion by shooting a chikor (hill partridge) with a ·303 Lee-Enfield rifle when the bird was actually in flight. He was acting for his uncle, the old Amir Nasser, who, since the murderous attack at Christmas time in 1950 on Major Basil Seager, C.M.G., O.B.E., at that time British Agent for the Western Protectorate, was living in retirement at Lahej.

Once we had got up the rather difficult final pass on to the plateau the last few miles of the drive through the low hills were quite delightful. The air was cool and the country green, and the Naib's Tribal Guards and tribesmen on the hilltops guarding our passage and firing shots of welcome in the air as we drove past were a romantic and picturesque sight.

We went straight to the Political Officer's house a mile or so from the old grey town of Dhala, which looked as sinister as ever as it straggled up the hillside to the ancient castle on the summit. There I met the notables and tribal leaders who had gathered in strength, while the guns of the castle slowly—oh, so slowly—fired a seventeen-gun salute. The guns were very old, and it was more dangerous to be behind them than in front of them. They had a tendency to explode if too much black powder was used in the charge, and there had been a nasty accident some few months earlier at the time of the Idd celebrations which had reduced the number of guns and gunners available for ceremonial purposes.

After the tribesmen and the notables had taken their departure, the Naib and I, with the Political Officer, went into the latter's office and talked about local affairs. Among other things the Naib deplored the kindness shown by the Imam to the Amir Haidera, his cousin and the son of the old Amir Nasser, who had been a power in the land until his conduct had become quite outrageous and a climax had been reached when he seized the Treasury and revolted against his father. We took action to bring him to reason, but he fled across the frontier and found refuge in the Yemen town of Qataba, from which place he never ceased to intrigue in the Amirate. Just before sunset the Naib said farewell and went off across the plain to his house just

daggers were drawn, and I saw one of my personal servants with commendable presence of mind seize and draw the dagger from his neighbour's belt, thereby providing himself with a weapon and disarming a potential enemy in one swift movement. The three exceptions were the Naib, the Political Officer and myself, and to this day why we remained unmoved I really do not know, because normally speaking the noise and surprise of the explosion would have made me jump out of my skin. Possibly I had some subconscious realisation of the cause of the disturbance.

The Naib looked at the startled company and spoke:

"The cannon," he said, and smiled.

Calm succeeded panic as realisation came to one and all that it was no Arabian adaptation of the Guy Fawkes incident, but only the indomitable gunners in the battery outside the window, who, with commendable tenacity, were determined to finish my seventeen-gun salute.

Reassured, the guests all sat down again and daggers were returned to their scabbards, and in some cases to their owners, and the meal was resumed with more zeal and less trifling than there had been before the rude interruption. Reserve was gone and there was a degree of friendliness unusual on such occasions in Dhala where most people always seemed to be slightly suspicious of their neighbours. I begged the Naib to issue an order to the gunners to cease firing the salute, and he did so and there was no further incident.

It was some time before I was to visit Dhala again and it was then to be present when the family council selected a new Amir to replace old Nasser who had died in Lahej. All the States follow much the same system when deciding on a new Ruler. The senior members of the deceased's family, who are the senior members of the ruling sept of the clan or tribe, meet together and agree on their choice. He may be a brother, or a son, or indeed a cousin of the dead Ruler—there is no fixed rule. Once the family council have made their decision, then the tribal leaders are called together and asked to endorse the choice. When they have done so the new Ruler entertains everyone to a meal and the ceremony is over. There are, of

643 course, exceptions and in Lahej, for example, the electoral college is composed not only of the heads of the branches of the Ruling family, but also of the Sheikhs of the principal tribes and the senior Qadhi, but generally speaking it is the family who make the choice for tribal approval.

In Dhala on this occasion the new Amir was selected after a bitter disagreement between two of his uncles, and an attempt on the part of the family council to avoid having to make a decision by asking for direct British administration. The troublesome uncle, having failed to ensure that a large proportion of the State revenue would in future be devoted solely to the support of himself and his family, abstained from voting in the council meeting and fled that same night to the Yemen with his close relations, and was warmly welcomed there. The new Amir was very upset at what he considered to be a serious affront to his dignity, but, personally, I had no doubt that he was well rid of a particularly useless and disagreeable bunch of Qāt-ridden wasters.

AULAKIS

636 In the winter of 1951–52, the Aulaki adventure was making
131 good progress. The Aulakis are a virile and warlike clan whose
184 territory runs north and south along the western side of the administrative dividing line between the western and eastern sections of the Protectorate and are themselves divided into three States, the Lower Aulaki Sultanate in the south on the sea coast, then the Sheikhdom, an area of fierce barren hills with steep and narrow valleys, and in the north the more open table-lands of the Upper Aulaki Sultanate.

636 At this point a word of explanation is necessary about the administrative dividing line to which I have referred. This line came into being purely as an administrative convenience and should, in fact, never have been incorporated on the maps of the area because the Aden Protectorate is one indivisible whole. The reason why any administrative line became necessary was that at the period of history when it was first drawn in pencil on an old map, probably by the Governor, the British

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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Agent in the west of the Protectorate was a person of very determined character who reacted strongly to any encroachment of what he considered to be his kingdom, while the distinguished administrator at that time in the Hadhramaut was equally strong minded and had acquisitive tendencies; so in order to prevent a major war between these two distinguished officers a line had to be drawn, and they had to be instructed to keep inside their boundaries.

Many years ago the Aulaki had burst out of their hilly fastnesses and spread east and west through the length and breadth of the Protectorate, until their influence ran right up to the Yemen borders and they held even Lahej to ransom, while away in the east the Quaiti Sultanate suffered from their depredations. In the earliest days of South-west Arabia before the Christian era, it is probable that the Aulakis were the most powerful race that that country had ever produced, but like many other great nations they gradually declined in influence and authority until today they have little but their barren hills and their pride, the latter bolstered up by nebulous claims to tribute from their neighbours, which they can no longer enforce. Their pride was their greatest asset and at the same time their worst enemy: in their powerful and prosperous days it had driven them forward and in the days of their weakness it had torn them apart until the great Aulaki Confederation had dissolved into a maze of blood feuds which had laid waste the land upon which they had come to depend, and thereby impoverished the people.

The old Sheikh who ruled the Sheikhdom had come into treaty relation with us in 1904 and he was still alive, but he was too old to manage the affairs of his country, and his youngest son Abdullah had been chosen as Regent to rule in his name. Abdullah was a pleasant person with none of the strong characteristics of his brothers and he had been selected by the family council and the tribal leaders for that very reason. His eldest brother was too die-hard to be acceptable to the family or the tribes; the bedouin brother was not interested, and his stout brother preferred to be the power behind the throne rather than the occupant of the throne itself. The

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The brothers all expected to be able to guide Abdullah in what they considered to be the right direction, and in consequence Abdullah was often the recipient of contrary advice and in a dilemma, but there was one thing about which he had no doubt and that was his dislike of the interminable blood feuds. He sought our help to put an end to them and at the same time to set up an administration. His request was granted and a motorable track was driven through the mountains to Yeshbum and Said, the two towns of the Sheikhdom, opening up the country to the outside world. Truces were made between the tribal septs which were guaranteed by Abdullah as Regent for his father and by Government, and in a short while peace came to a land which for so long had known nothing but strife.

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The negotiating of the truces was, in this case, not particularly difficult because everyone was tired of fighting and only too anxious to come to an agreement, provided they could do so with honour. The authority of the Sheikh, backed by the power of the Government, was an overwhelming reason for suspending the feuds, and what was essential, a reason that could be seen by their neighbours and would be generally acknowledged as adequate. It is not only in Surbiton that the opinion of the neighbours is of importance.

Such truces are normally made for a few months in the first instance and then renewed for longer and longer periods until no-one troubles to remember when they lapse. When this stage is reached it does not matter whether they are in force or not because the reason for the truce has been forgotten and peace and good relations have become the accustomed way of life. Sometimes feuds are ended definitely during a truce by the casting up of the accounts of the dead and wounded on either side during the period of the feud and the striking of a balance; the difference being assessed at so much a head in accordance with local custom and a payment of "blood money", as it is called, being made from the debtors' side to the creditors' side.

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Strenuous efforts were made to produce an administration and eventually one began to take shape, but it was painfully slow and the whole project very nearly had to be abandoned. The real trouble here was lack of money. It generally is. Money

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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636 descriptive and therefore more suitable), who was one of themselves, being a grandson of the old Sheikh. Educated in Aden, Muhammed Farid had served as a Junior Assistant Adviser for some years, during which time with Alistair McIntosh's generous help, he learnt enough English to enable him to complete with outstanding success a one year Colonial Office Course at Oxford University. It was a magnificent effort. In his political work after returning from England, he was lucky to come under Hugh Boustead, the dynamic Resident in the Eastern Protectorate. Muhammed's task was extremely difficult, and it seemed scarcely fair to ask him to serve in his own country with family ties to distract him, but I felt that he and he alone would be capable of reuniting the Ruling family. I did not order him to go to Said, but asked him to do so, putting my difficulties before him quite frankly. He did not hesitate but agreed at once, realising that it was his duty to serve his country however much personal relationships might add to his difficulties. The younger generation have begun well.

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636 Having seen the Sheikhdom start on the right road, the next thing to do was to tackle the difficult problem of the Upper Aulaki Sultanate, whose Sultan Awd bin Saleh, was an eccentric person who seldom made a public appearance, preferring to spend his time in seclusion in his tumbled down house in Nisab, his capital. When he did appear in public the unusual spectacle, combined with the respect which his people had for him, resulted in a minor riot. Unfortunately he had been out of contact with Aden for some time, in fact, since the day in the middle thirties when he conceived the particularly silly idea that his son had been poisoned in the Civil Hospital. He was disinclined to answer letters, but resolute and tactful action by McIntosh resulted in contact being restored, and once that was done the restoration of confidence was only a matter of time.

A landing ground was made near Nisab and the elements of an administration were started. It was a particularly difficult task because the shortage of funds was acute. The Sultan was ill-provided with the wherewithal to finance even his own modest household, and it is my view that his eccentric be-

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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haviour had its foundation in his poverty, which prevented him from entertaining in accordance with his social position. Once the financial problem was solved, the administration made reasonable progress and the Sultan, gaining confidence, became more co-operative and began to take an ever-increasing interest in his State, though I must confess he still remained rather unpredictable.

In 1956, accompanied by a host of tribesmen, he went four or five miles to the landing ground to welcome Lord Lloyd, at that time Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was paying a visit to the Protectorate. I was astonished when our plane touched down to see him, and I must admit the old gentleman seemed almost equally surprised at finding himself out in the sunshine so far from home. We drove to Nisab, escorted by the Aden Protectorate Levies, across the wide plain in a cloud of dust, and avoiding the town, went straight to the Government Guard fort so that Lord Lloyd could talk to the Sultan in comparative privacy. It was only comparative, as the tribesmen packed the courtyard of the fort and were only, with difficulty, restrained from streaming up the stairs to the first floor in their anxiety to be close to their Ruler.

We talked in a small room overlooking the dry bed of the wadi, and "Rufus", as Lord Lloyd nicknamed the Sultan—he had dyed his beard a glorious red for the occasion—showed that eccentric though he might be, he was also a shrewd fellow. Our conversation over we went down into the courtyard, and such was the tribesmen's enthusiasm that Lloyd and I were swept aside as they surrounded the Sultan, and pouring through the main gate of the fort like water bursting from a breach in a dam, bore him off to his house in the town. Lloyd was, I think, slightly ruffled, but he recovered quickly and realised that it was not intentional rudeness, but over-enthusiasm, like a football crowd surrounding a popular player after the end of a successful Cup Final.

I met the Lower Aulaki Sultan for the first time in Aden, when he came with his uncle, the Regent, to pay his annual ceremonial call. I shall always remember the picture the small

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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smartly about and saluted and remained standing at attention until I held out my hand and then, in turn, they stepped forward and shook hands.

"I'll take them along," I said, and they followed me downstairs into the car.

When we reached the school the Sultan jumped out and ran into the building, but to my surprise his companion remained in the car.

"Come on, get out," I said to him.

"He will be back in a minute," said the boy.

"I thought you wanted to come back to the school," I said.

"Only to borrow two rupees for tea, sir. It's a holiday today, Sir."

At that moment the Sultan rushed breathlessly out of the building and flung himself into the back of the Land-Rover.

"And now where do you want to go?" I asked.

"Back to the town, please, sir," answered the Sultan, and opening his hand in answer to a whispered inquiry from his companion displayed two rupees.

So back we had to go. My momentary irritation at having to retrace my steps quickly gave place to satisfaction at the change in the lad. I was being used as a taxi-driver, but I had brought it on myself.

I dropped them in the main street, and after shaking hands they saluted very smartly, turned about with the precision of Guardsmen, then relaxed and ran off like the normal boys they were in search of refreshment.

BEIHAN

Up in the north of the western part of the Protectorate lies the State of Beihan, to which I paid many visits generally by air, but on one occasion by Land-Rover, coming in from the north-east across the sand dunes on the fringe of the Ruba-al-Khali, after an unforgettable tour of the northern Hadhrami Bedouin Legion Posts. Beihan is the home of the clever, adventurous, dynamic and above all loyal Sharif Hussein who, having ceased to be Regent for his son the Sultan in the first

Aden

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•643 year of my term of office, has become the power behind the throne and manages his son and the State with skill and adroitness. His State borders the Yemen and the frontier is a continuous source of trouble with that country. The Sharif is no advocate of appeasement. He firmly believes that offence is the best defence, and he and his son have maintained their [648] position with our help against all comers. For some reason, as obscure to me as it is to the Oil Company who recently gave up their prospecting concession for the area, the Sharif and the Imam are convinced (it's the only point on which they don't differ sharply) that Beihan floats on oil and in consequence the Yemen has been more aggressive on the Beihan border than elsewhere and the struggle has been long and bitter between the Sharif and the neighbouring Yemeni Governors of Harib and Marib. The Imam would like to isolate Beihan from the rest of the Protectorate and has tried every trick in his extensive repertoire of deceptive magic, but the Sharif has so far more than held his own.

[648] In 1954 a Conference was held at Mukeiras in the Audhali Sultanate with the Yemen Governor of Beidha, the Qadhi Muhammed Abdullah Ash Shami, with the object of trying to settle some of the Beihan border disputes. The Sharif and Ash Shami had had many hard and bitter duels in the past and there was little love lost between them, though I have no doubt a certain degree of mutual respect had been created. The Sharif flew from Beihan in a Valetta aircraft of the Royal Air Force which made a bad landing at Mukeiras, and bouncing off the landing ground, came to rest, rather dilapidated, on a nearby hill. The accident was witnessed by Ash Shami and the British Adviser who, with some local notables, were awaiting the arrival of the Sharif. They were horrified when they saw the undercarriage disintegrate and the plane collapse on its belly, and with the rest of the reception committee, rushed across the landing ground to help the survivors out of the wreckage. The first person to emerge from the damaged plane was the Sharif himself; unhurried and dignified he stepped out of the door which he had forced open, paused to light a cigarette, oblivious of the serious fire risk, and strolled over to receive

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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Ash Shami's congratulations on his escape, to which he replied with his unexpectedly nice smile:

"You thought you had seen the last of me, didn't you? You are wrong again."

In 1956 when he was informed that we had taken the initiative and landed a force on Egyptian soil, he is reported to have said:

"Praise be to God, the old woman [Britannia] has woken up at last."

He has no love for Nasser and his poisonous radio broadcasts which have done so much harm. I am very glad I was not there to hear what he had to say when he learnt we had gone from Egyptian soil with the task we had set ourselves uncompleted. My sympathy is with those who carried the news to him; his forthrightness could be very embarrassing even when there was much less excuse for plain speaking.

AUDHALI

Farther to the west, and also on the borders of the Yemen, Sultan Saleh bin Hussein, the young Audhali Ruler, had consolidated his position to an extent which enabled him to remain unshaken, though it was a severe personal shock to him as he trusted their Sheikh, when the Dammanis, a sub-section of the Audhalis, forcibly resisted, at the instigation of the Yemen, our attempt to link the Audhali capital, Loder, with Nisab by motor road. The Yemen feared these new communications which would do much to consolidate the Protectorate and which in some peculiar way they seemed to connect with the supposed oil resources of Beihan. Shots were fired and on a show of force by the Aden Protectorate Levies the Dammani rebels fled across the border to be rewarded, encouraged and sustained by the authorities at Beidha, which is only about thirteen miles from Mukeiras and which I have myself visited on more than one occasion. From the Yemen the rebels raided into their own country at night, returning to their base in the Yemen before dawn.

Ever obedient to the referee's whistle we played the game

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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QADHI MUHAMMED ABDULLAH ASH SHAMI—YEMENI GOVERNOR OF BEIDHI PROVINCE

[facing p. 130]

windows the ground slipping by. We stopped just in time and I expected to be told we would have to wait for a relief aircraft, but no, without more ado, we taxied all the way back and tried again. This time no-one waved at anyone. The spectators were much too interested to see whether the plane succeeded in getting off on this second attempt to think of anything else, and we in the plane were similarly preoccupied with more excuse since we were more closely concerned. Nothing exciting happened, and half an hour later we landed safely in Aden. My luck had held to the end of my Service life. My thirty odd years in the wilder parts of the Middle East and in the more turbulent areas in Pakistan, have been strangely devoid of startling adventure, so much so that I am often envious of the wonderful adventures which seem to befall some travellers in as many weeks, or indeed days.

LAHEJ

Down in the western corner of the Protectorate the Sultan of Lahej was drinking heavily and marrying with a frequency which bewildered the local Qadhi who got his registers in a muddle. Fadl had succeeded his father, His Highness Sultan Sir Abdul Karim bin Fadl, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., some three years before I became Governor, and for a time had devoted himself wholeheartedly to the affairs of his State. When he was about eighteen years of age his father had broken with tradition and named Fadl, his eldest son, as his heir, to the intense irritation of a collateral branch of the Ruling house who considered that their rights had thereby been infringed. There was a plot to murder the heir, and one afternoon Fadl came off the tennis court in Lahej all unsuspecting to speak to a petitioner who had at one time been in his service. As the lad approached, the petitioner drew a revolver and shot him through the left eye and in the groin. He was hurried to the hospital in Aden and later was taken to Newcastle, where thanks to the skill of Professor Gray-Turner he recovered from his wounds, outwardly little affected, but inwardly he had suffered a blow from which he never really recovered. He felt the loss of his

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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left eye terribly, and it impaired not only his actual physical vision, but what was much worse, his mental vision.

By 1951 he had ceased to take any real interest in his State, and had taken to drinking heavily, and my own efforts to persuade him to pull himself together were no more effective than those of my predecessor. He became more and more eccentric and when the worse for liquor he was not responsible for his actions. The end came one wild night when, more than usually irritated by his relatives, he had two of them tied to stakes in his front garden and shot them himself from the flat roof of his house. I immediately called him to account, and on my learning that the night after the murders he had fled to the Yemen, Lahej was occupied by the Aden Protectorate Levies and the Government Guards, and I went out personally and supervised the formation of a Council of Regency to manage the affairs of the State until the Electoral College could be called together in a more reasonable atmosphere to decide on a successor.

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On his way to the Yemen, Fadl passed through the country of his inveterate enemy the Haushabi Sultan, and that gentleman never forgave himself for being fast asleep when the fugitive passed within a few feet of his door. Fadl found no refuge in the Yemen where his deeds had shocked even the Imam, a man whose treatment of some of his own relations had been drastic, though not altogether without reason, and he was forced to move on to Jedda where I believe he still lives. I liked him and I shall always feel very sorry for him because he never really had much of a chance. With sympathetic treatment from his father and others in his youth, his character could have been strengthened, and he would then have made a good and able Ruler. Whatever may have been his faults, he retained the respect and the affection of his people to the end of his short reign, and even after he had gone they continued to speak well of him. He treated them well and never subjected them to the fits of temper which his relations came to dread.

In due course the Electoral College met and Sultan Fadl was formally deposed and the Amir Ali, his young half-brother, was

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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nominated to succeed him as Sultan. Thus there came to the head of affairs in the premier State a young man, well educated, much travelled and full of promise. During the time I was Governor a great deal of progress was made in Lahej by the new Sultan, who as His Highness Sir Ali bin Abdul Karim, K.B.E., has taken considerable interest in the political development of the area and the economic prosperity of his State. Lahej was the first of the States to introduce a Legislative Council and now it is one of the major cotton growing areas, being blessed with the only perennial river in the whole of the western part of the Protectorate.

LOWER YAFA

131 Beyond the rich agricultural lands of the northern part of the Abiyan plain the Lower Yafa State stretches far up into the mountains to the highlands of Upper Yafa, a country of wild and hardy mountaineers who are more independent and [361] individualistic than any other of the Protectorate tribes. The Lower Yafa State has two capitals, one in the lowland plains at Al Hasn and the other in the hills at Al Qara. This latter town is quite the most extraordinary one that I have seen anywhere [487] in the world. It is built on the circular limestone cap of a very steep hill which looks like a truncated cone, and the town can be reached only by two very rough tracks, up which camels and donkeys can, with difficulty, make their way.

I was determined to visit Al Qara, partly out of sheer curiosity and partly because I was anxious to increase our influence in even the most remote areas of the Protectorate. Having obtained the willing agreement of the Sultan, the arrangements were made and my party, which consisted of the Director of Agriculture, the Director of the Protectorate Health Service, a Geologist who was making a survey of the Protectorate, a Political Officer or Assistant Adviser who was in charge of the expedition, and a personal friend, covered the first part of the journey by car from Aden along the Khormaksar beach and across the Abiyan plain to where the Bana river emerges from the hills. There we spent the night at a

a rather more inferior donkey, and seemed to hold some sort of quasi-political appointment in the State; he spoke Urdu, which he had learnt during his police service in Aden. He and I conversed together in that language to the irritation of Europeans and Arabs alike who could not understand what we were saying. Perhaps it was as well. The Jemadar and I had quite an amusing time. The rest of the party followed on behind, with the doctor bringing up the rear after the baggage animals, ready to deal with any casualties.

We always started the daily march early in the morning after the lightest of meals and moved steadily forward until midday, when we would halt to rest and feed the animals and ourselves; just before sunset, we would select a camp site among the terraced fields at the side of the valley and a hot meal would be prepared by the cooks, while our servants set up our camp-beds in the open and we relaxed on rugs spread on the bare ground. Sleep came easily.

[361] On the last day as we approached our destination, we could see Al Qara gleaming white far above us on its hilltop and by mid-morning we were near the base of the hill. Just before noon [291] we crossed a small rise and there on the flat ground immediately [302] below the hill thousands of tribesmen were drawn up in lines awaiting our arrival. Blue kilts, indigo-dyed bodies, bobbed [411] hair, rough leather sandals and the inevitable armoury of rifle, cartridge belt and silver sheathed dagger; they were as splendid as they were unexpected in that wild and seemingly sparsely [643] populated country. Sultan Muhammed and I moved forward on foot to greet the Sultan who, dressed in a purple plush frock coat, a blue and yellow striped kilt and a head cloth of the same colours, was busily engaged acting as ringmaster in the midst of this amazing scene. Like his men he carried a rifle, and as we approached welcoming shots were fired by him and his immediate entourage and replied to by his son and my party. The Sultan and I exchanged the customary greeting and shook hands, and then I shook hands with the tribal leaders and walked down the ranks of tribesmen.

Up to this point everything had been remarkably well ordered and controlled, but when the Sultan who was by

Aden

000 I should not have been at all surprised to hear that my old friend Ash Shami had had a hand in the matter. We were not far from the Yemen border and the presence of the Governor of Aden in the Lower Yafa hills where only one of my predecessors had been before, and that nearly twenty-five years previously, implying as it did a potential extension of our direct influence, must have been disturbing to that astute gentleman.

487 The path down the hill was still impassable for animals
312 when we left Al Qara to return to Aden two days later, so
562 we were obliged to leave by the other track on the other side of the hill which is used by the women to bring water from the wells in the valley far below.

• 643 We started the return journey in the early morning after
793 bidding our host, the Sultan, farewell and thanking him for his
778 kindness to us during the visit. We left him there alone, the
534 descendant of the old priest kings of pagan pre-Islamic times,
789 surrounded by his wild tribesmen who in times of trouble venerate him as they would a God, for is he not the custodian of the drum of the Yafais which is kept in some secret chamber in Al Qara only to be sounded when the Yafa nation is in sore distress, and has he not the magical gift of rain-making in times of drought, like his ancestors before him. These things they believe, but when the rainfall is sufficient and the Yafa people are free from want or oppression then they treat him with scant ceremony, which is the fate of all gods, ancient or modern, in the East or in the West.

000 The return journey, being downhill all the way, was much easier and quicker and we had to spend only one night in the open. On the second and last day of the return journey something went wrong with the lunch-time arrangements and I, mounted once again on the Sultan's donkey, rode past the rendezvous and did not realise that I had done so until I had travelled some distance. Loath to retrace my steps, I decided to forgo lunch and to push on to the Government Guard Post below which, on the way up, we had left our motor transport. I rode alone for most of the way, except for the Jemadar and his bosom companion, an elderly Qadhi, who had travelled up

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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with us and was now returning to his work somewhere on the Abiyan plain. I had no armed escort from the Government Guards. The safety of my companions and myself rested with the Sultan who was fully prepared to accept his responsibility. In fact, if I had attempted to take an armed escort on this particular trip, we would almost certainly have never got to Al Qara at all. The independent-minded tribesmen would undoubtedly have resisted the movement of armed men into their country and we should have been faced with the alternative of turning back or having to force a passage. Not really an alternative because I had not, in those days, a sufficient force at my disposal to overcome spirited resistance from thousands of tribesmen in that tangle of hills.

QUAITI

Both during my term of office as Governor and during my earlier periods of service in Aden I paid frequent visits to Mukalla, the capital of the Quaiti State in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, which nestles below a high hill feature on which stand the now empty watch towers that in days gone by protected the wealthy merchants of the town from bedouin raiders. Mukalla has a fascinating little harbour and the town is grouped attractively round a bay filled with the bluest water that I have ever seen. Viewed from the broad beach outside the ancient gateway as the sun is setting, the town and the hill behind it are suffused with a golden light, and the slender white minarets of the Mosques are a delicate shade of pink. It is really beautiful.

Here in Mukalla are not only the business houses of the merchants who trade with the Far East and Aden and supply the Hadhramaut with its innumerable wants, but also the palace of the Sultan, the British Residency, and the Government Offices of the Quaiti administration. Outside the walls of the town are the depot of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion and the barracks of the Mukalla Regular Army and the Quaiti Armed Constabulary. Here also is the Bedouin Boys' School, a boarding school for the sons of tribesmen run by the State on the

346 lines of a military school where the discipline is strict and the [292] boys are taught to be self-reliant. Dressed in their school uniform of blue smock, gathered at the waist with a red sash [541] and a white cotton head cloth held in place by a black cord, these boys put on a physical training display on gala occasions which would not disgrace the Royal Tournament at Earl's Court.

643 The old Sultan, His Highness Sir Saleh bin Ghalib, K.C.M.G., was a well-read and wise old gentleman whose death in 1956 was a sad blow to his people and to his State. [533] I have enjoyed his hospitality on more than one occasion and listened with pleasure to his band which, under an Indian Bandmaster, played Eastern and Western tunes with equal facility. It was this band that played at Government House in Aden when Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Philip, honoured me with their presence at lunch in 1954. His Highness was himself present on that occasion, together with other representatives of the Protectorate and the [523] Colony. In his own house after dinner it was the Sultan's custom to entertain his guests with a cinema show which, whether composed of commercial productions or of films he had himself produced and photographed, was always entertaining, even though the sound was rather overpowering: I could never understand, since he was certainly not deaf, why he always had the sound turned up to such a degree that one was almost deafened. The Sultan loved anything to do with films and knew more than most amateurs about the mechanism of his cameras, projectors and tape recorders. It was in Mukalla that I saw and heard Charlie Chaplin speaking Arabic; an Arabic sound track having been added by the Sultan himself to one of the old silent Chaplin films.

636 Politically the State was more advanced than most of the 643 Protectorate States and His Highness ruled with the aid of a 645 State Council, on which were not only the able Sudanese Chief Minister and the astute Pakistani Finance Minister, but unofficial Arab members representing trading and other interests 642 in the State. Throughout the State, control and government 636 have been decentralised down from the Central Government

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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up at Saiyun by the Quaiti and Kathiri States, was provided and was controlled by one of Hugh Boustead's young men. Diesel oil was essential for the pumps and it had to be brought from the coast at Mukalla by lorry, and so it was that the camel men, however disgruntled they might be, must not be allowed to damage the roads or impede the oil lorries.

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The pump scheme was supplemented by grain stores set up in the main towns and larger villages and regularly inspected to ensure that the grain had been properly rotated. At each harvest new grain was bought and the old grain sold, thus keeping the stocks fresh. Mercifully all went well with the rainfall during my tour of duty and we did not have to put our anti-famine measures to the test.

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I cannot leave the subject of development without making a brief reference to the political side. In most States in the Western area of the Protectorate the old form of complete autocratic government has given place to government by the Ruler with the advice of a Council, and in some States the next stage of development of Councils with executive powers has been reached, while in Lahej there is the further refinement of a Legislative Council. Generally speaking these Western innovations where they exist are only in the kindergarten stage and the Ruler is still the central figure upon whose personality the Government of the State really depends. For instance, there is one important State which has no Council at all, but a very able Ruler who governs justly and firmly and whose finances are in a sound condition; while another and larger State has the whole façade of modern governmental institutions but a Ruler whose real interests are elsewhere and his people do not fare so well and the State's finances would mystify the most astute of accountants. The personality of the Ruler is still of paramount importance, but change is coming swiftly.

In the Eastern area the main progress has been made in the centre, where in the Quaiti and Kathiri States administrations have been firmly established and even Town Councils are functioning with reasonable efficiency. These States have been lucky in having Rulers who had the good sense to pay heed to their able advisers. In the two outlying States, the Wahidi

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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643 on the western side and the Sultanate of Qishen and Socotra on the eastern side, there is rather a different story to tell. The young Wahidi Sultan inherited a country riven by feuds and only recently has any real degree of security prevailed; but he is working on the right lines and has made creditable progress. In Qishen the wild tribesmen wander over their barren desert ranges and sand dunes with their camels and their goats following the all too scarce rain. Oil-survey parties have come to their country and they eye them uneasily, not knowing quite what to make of tractors and caravans, but willing enough to earn money when the opportunity offers and the work is not too strenuous. Down on the coast the Sultan's relatives in the seaboard villages play a Capulet and Montague game in their own Mahra dialect, which they alone can understand, while the Sultan himself, who is inclined to be a recluse, sits in the mountains of his island of Socotra 300 miles away across the sea off the Horn of Africa.

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648 While these internal changes have been taking place there has been a change or development in the treaty relations of the major States with Her Majesty's Government. The fundamental agreements, the original protection treaties, have remained unchanged, but these States have entered into an additional treaty of an advisory nature. The Rulers have agreed to accept the Advice of Her Majesty's Government conveyed through the Governor in regard to matters to the benefit of their people and States, and we have undertaken to aid them, in particular, in the economic field, to the best of our ability. These "advisory" treaties are of recent origin and must not be confused, as they often are, with the basic protection treaties, all of which, with one very minor exception, were entered into between 1839 and 1914.

I have seen it suggested that some Rulers were coerced into agreeing to conclude "Advisory" agreements. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were entered into willingly and with full understanding of the obligations on both sides. I can make this statement from my personal knowledge. Far from pressure being used the reverse was the case. In one particular instance I refused to discuss the matter at all with the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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CHAPTER NINE

Federation and the Future

FEDERATION

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ALTHOUGH the Protectorate Rulers are no longer the despots that they were, they are all, with two exceptions, fundamentally autocratic in their outlook. It is true that in many of the States the powers of the Rulers have been limited to some extent by the voluntary action of the Rulers themselves in establishing Councils, advisory or executive, but it is equally true that the Councils where they exist do so at the will of the Ruler and not at the will of the people. I admit that the autocratic form of government where the autocrat has been of a benevolent disposition, has been, so far, the most successful in the East, and I have much sympathy for those people who deplore the forcing of Western patterns of government on the unwilling Asiatic or African, but so far as Aden is concerned there never has been any question of forcing anything on anyone. I suggest that the reason why autocratic government has been successful in the East is fundamentally because it was the only form of government that could succeed in the insecure conditions which prevailed. It was also the form that the people appreciated, were accustomed to and wanted. They never had any long experience of any other form of governmen.. I am sure that in the very different conditions which now prevail the majority of them do not appreciate a dictator, except as a purely temporary measure. They are growing unaccustomed to autocratic rule and want a form of government approximating to the Western model. What the people want they will have eventually. It is not a question of forcing Western ideas on unwilling people, but rather of guid-

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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ing eager purchasers to make a satisfactory choice of a political garment and altering the model to suit their particular figure. It was just with this purpose in view that the Federation plan was conceived.

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In all the Western and Middle Eastern countries outside the Iron Curtain, with the exception of the temporary experiment in Egypt and the last remnant of the patriarchal conception in Saudi Arabia, governments are fundamentally democratic whether the head of State be designated Queen, King, or President, and Aden looks Westwards for guidance and inspiration.

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The contacts between the nineteenth-century Aden Protectorate and the West are daily becoming closer. Incessant broadcasts from London, Cairo and Aden itself, very different though they may be in their political approach, bring the modern West and modern Middle East into the remotest villages of the Protectorate. At the same time roads and landing grounds—of the latter there are at least eight with regular Civil Airline services, made possible by better security—have changed the mode of travel from the camel and the donkey to the lorry and the aeroplane and thereby greatly accelerated and increased personal contact with the outside world, and thus with people with Western ideas.

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In Aden Colony there are 38,000 Arabs from the Protectorate in close contact with a democratic form of government, many of whom exercise their voting right when elections to the Legislative and Municipal Councils take place. These people have become accustomed to a democratic system of government, not only in Aden, but also in countries in the West to which many of them travel. When they return to their Protectorate homes, which many of them do at frequent intervals, they find the old-fashioned autocratic rule of their Sheikh or Sultan irksome. They would like at home what they have become used to abroad, an ever-increasing say in the government of the country. At present these people are in the minority, but it will not be long before the wish of the few becomes the demand of the majority, and the wisest of the Protectorate Rulers are ready and willing to accept change and bow before the inevitable.

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178 the weakness of their position so long as they remain isolated the one from the other by jealousy and personal pride with the result that the States of Beihan, the Audhali, Dhala, the Fadli and the central State of Dathina have all intimated their desire to federate together, and discussions are in progress with the Colonial Office and the Governor on the practical implementation of their decision. The Aulaki Sheikh, also, from whose territory so many of the Levies and Guards are recruited, has signified his readiness to join a federation, and I am sure that other States will follow the lead which has been given them and hope that before this year is ended the Protectorate will have taken a major step forward.

642 Internally the Protectorate has not been free from disturb-
• 643 ance. In Lower Yafa Sultan Muhammed allowed himself to be swayed by Egyptian propaganda and deserted his charge, the lowland reaches of his State embracing the northern half of the rich cotton yielding Abiyan plain. He fled to the Yafa highlands and on into Yemen, taking with him the Lower Yafa Tribal Guards, which were of no moment, and the contents of his father's, the Sultan's Treasury amounting to £10,000 which did matter. The Assistant Adviser on the spot, who was himself an Arab, acted promptly and vigorously and the void left by the Tribal Guards was filled rapidly by Government Guards from Aden. There were no disturbances of any moment and the situation was never out of control. Sultan Mohd's defection was deplorable but understandable for he was ever a wayward and foolish fellow and his country is no worse for his absence.

687 Over to the West in the Sultanate of Lahej a very unhappy
669 position has arisen. It is nothing to do with the State's frontier with the Yemen which was at one time a continuous worry but recently has been unusually peaceful. The Sultan who was the first to approve federation in principle and the most difficult to deal with in the discussions which followed the 1954 meeting at Government House, in April of this year, left his State, presumably in protest at the arrest by the Governor's order of his Minister for Education, Abdullah bin Ali, one of the Jifri Saiyid. The order for arrest, which was on a charge of

From the "Upper Circle" 1958

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the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary and one other Government official and six members to be nominated by the Governor in his absolute discretion. The Governor will no longer preside over the Council, his place being taken, as is only appropriate, by a Speaker.

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The qualifications for electors and for candidates for election are to remain unchanged. This means that there will be no extension of the franchise and no relaxation of the rule which requires a candidate to be Aden born, or if not Aden born, to be a British subject or a British Protected person who has resided in the Colony for seven out of the last ten years. A very wise decision. Nothing could have been more foolhardy than to have extended the franchise at the present time beyond its already wide limits. To allow foreign subjects to be elected as Members of a Legislative Council would be unconstitutional in any country.

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With the grant of an unofficial elected majority it is proposed to appoint five Unofficial Members of whom three must be elected Members to take charge of the Departments of Education, Public Works, Communications, Labour and Social Welfare and the Health Department. They will be known as Members-in-Charge and will be responsible for their respective Departments. Early in 1956 I introduced the practice of associating individual Unofficial Members with Departments of Government with the object of preparing them for just this sort of development. The result is that the present Unofficial Members have gained valuable experience and one can only hope that the electorate, always a trifle capricious even in England, will have the good sense to return at least some of them to the Council at the next election where their experience will be of benefit to the Colony.

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The new Constitution will, of course, provide that the Governor shall exercise reserve executive and legislative powers. This is a normal procedure and essential, particularly in a politically juvenile Colony such as is Aden which has had a Legislative Council for only eleven years.

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The contemplated change in the composition of the Executive Council is as sweeping as that in the Legislative Council.

3 Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

Gulf, which enables oil to be supplied at favourable rates, and the consequent inducement to ships to call for bunkers has also led to an increase of transit trade to the East African and Red Sea ports. 504

Perim

The first trace of the occupation of Perim Island goes back as far as 1738 when the French landed there after the bombardment of Mocha. It was not until 5th May, 1799, that the British took formal possession, but it is recorded that, owing to difficulties in maintaining a supply of water, they evacuated the island in September of that year. 175

Perim was reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, under instructions from Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Sir William Coghlan, Political Resident and Commander, Aden, and Lieutenant Templar in the "Mahi" was deputed to effect the occupation. The island was then placed under the control of an Assistant to the Political Resident at Aden. This arrangement continued until 1929, when the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent. On the closing down of the Perim Coal Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the Island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden, usually performing the journey by air. 175 642

II.—GOVERNMENT

Prior to the 1st April, 1932, the territory now comprising the Colony was administered by a Resident under the control of the Government of Bombay. From the 1st April, 1932, Aden became a Chief Commissionership, and control was transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India in Council, the Chief Executive Officer at Aden being styled Chief Commissioner, Resident and Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st April, 1937, Aden was constituted a Crown Colony and was removed from the control of the Government of India. The Colony is administered by a Governor, who is also Commander-in-Chief, aided by an Executive Council which at present comprises five members. The Council consists of the persons holding the offices of Political Secretary and Civil Secretary and such other persons as the Governor in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through the Secretary of State may from time to time appoint. At the present time, in addition to the ex-officio members, the Legal Adviser, the Finance Officer and the Chairman of the Port Trust and Settlement have been appointed to the Council. There is no Legislative Council. 642 643 645

Military Garrison

The Military Garrison of the Colony is under the command of an Air Officer Commanding. 701

There is a Naval Office in charge of the Naval Officer-in-Charge.

3:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

647 The Trustees are appointed by the Governor for a period of two years.
504 Vacancies during this period are also filled by the Governor.

The minimum depth of water at low tide available in the Approach Channel and Inner Mooring Basin, except the four deep water berths, is 32 ft. 6 in.; there are five oil berths connected to the land installation by submarine pipe lines; two of these berths have been dredged to a minimum depth of 35 feet at L.W. There are two other berths dredged to a similar depth available for the supply of bunker coal and for general purposes.

The Port Trust maintain a pilot service consisting of one Harbour Master and six pilots.

The Aden Port Trust publish a separate administration report.

Mercantile marine matters are dealt with by the Port Officer. The present incumbent is an Officer of the Royal Indian Navy and is also Superintendent of Lighthouses.

Aden Port Trust Finance

651 The following statement shows the opening and closing balances
652 with actual receipts and expenditure for the year ending 31st March, 1939:—

Opening balance on 1st April, 1938 ...	Rs.	7,68,687	8	11
Receipts for the year 1938–39	Rs.	18,59,376	10	9
	Rs.	26,28,064	3	8
Expenditure for the year 1938–39 ...	Rs.	20,00,472	3	9
Closing balance on the 31st March, 1939	Rs.	6,27,591	15	11

Note.—The Port Trust Accounts are maintained for the financial year and not for the calendar year. The above figures are therefore based on the working of the financial year.

Municipal Administration

642 The Municipal Administration of Aden is carried on by the
643 Executive Committee of the Aden Settlement subject to the authority of the Governor under the powers vested in him by the Aden Settlement Regulation VII of 1900 as amended by Regulation V of 1919 and 1927.

Municipal Finance

Revenue

651 No new forms of taxation were introduced in 1938. The revenue of the Aden Settlement Fund for the year 1938 has increased owing to the large import of kat and also to the increase in the number of

4:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1937) 1939 MMI Aden MMI

of Aden is based on the fact that it is a fuelling station, originally for coal and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main Eastern trade route to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's production centre in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused a general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Abyssinia, Somaliland and Africa.

PERIM.

The first trace of the occupation of the Perim island goes back as far as 1738 when the French landed there, after the bombardment of Mocha. It was not until the 5th May, 1799, that the British took formal possession, but it is recorded that owing to difficulties in maintaining a supply of water they evacuated the island in the September of that year.

Perim was reoccupied in January, 1857, under instructions from Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Sir William Coghlan, Political Resident and Commander, Aden, and Lieutenant Templar in the *Mahi* was deputed to accomplish this reoccupation. The island was then placed under the control of an Assistant to the Political Resident, Aden. The Assistant Resident remained in control until 1929, when the Manager of the Perim Coal Company, Limited, was appointed Government Agent. On the closing down of the Perim Coal Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained on the island, and the Administrator makes regular visits generally performing the journey by air.

II.—GOVERNMENT.

Previously to the 1st April, 1932, the territory now comprising the Colony was administered by a Resident under the control of the Government of Bombay. From the 1st April, 1932, Aden became a Chief Commissionership, and control was transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Governor-General of India in Council, the Chief Executive Officer being styled Chief Commissioner, Resident and Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st April, 1937, Aden was constituted a Crown Colony and was removed from the control of the Government of India. The Colony is administered by a Governor, who is also Commander-in-Chief, aided by an Executive Council which at present comprises five members. The Council consists of the persons holding the offices of Political Secretary and Civil Secretary and such other persons as the Governor, in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through the Secretary of State may from time to time appoint. At the present time, in addition to the *ex-officio* members, the Legal Adviser, the Finance Officer, and the Chairman of the Port Trust and Settlement have been appointed to the Council. There is no Legislative Council.

5 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden MM1

on the coast near Aden resulted in the capture of Aden by a successful expedition sent from Bombay by the East Indian Company under Major Bailey and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. The latter became the first Resident. The desire to establish coaling-stations on trade-routes necessitated by the replacement of sailing-ships by steamers was one of the reasons which led to Aden's occupation by the British. The revival of the Red Sea route and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 regained for Aden its old importance. As a result of the increased prosperity of Aden since British occupation, the civil population excluding military has risen from 500 to 80,516 (according to the census taken in October, 1946). The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is based on the fact that it is a fuelling-station, originally for coal, and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade route to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's production centre in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Ethiopia, Somaliland and Africa.

Perim Island was first occupied by the French in 1738. In 1799 the British took formal possession, but evacuated the island in the same year. It was later reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, and placed under the control of an Assistant Political Resident at Aden. In 1929 the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent, but, on the closing down of that Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden, usually by air.

Chapter 3: Administration

Since 1937, when the territory was taken from the control of the Government of India and put under the Colonial Office, the constitution of Aden has been that of a Crown Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council.

Under the royal instructions, the Executive Council of the Colony consists of the officer lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed by His Majesty by any instructions or warrants under his sign manual and signet, or as the Governor may, by an instrument under the public seal of the Colony, appoint in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through one of his principal Secretaries of State, or as the Governor may provisionally appoint in the manner provided in the royal instructions.

Whenever upon any special occasion the Governor desires to obtain the advice of any person within the Colony relating to affairs therein, he may summon such person, for such special occasions, as an Extraordinary Member of the Council.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden MM1

Under the provisions of the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order, 1944, a Legislative Council was constituted for the Colony of Aden. The Council was inaugurated in January, 1947, and consists of the Governor as President, 4 *ex-officio* members, not more than 4 official members, and not more than 8 unofficial members. A list of members of the Executive and Legislative Councils is attached as Appendix I.

The Governor of the Colony is also Governor of the Aden Protectorate, which is not administered by the Colony Government. In each of the Western and Eastern Protectorates the Governor is represented by a British Agent, who deals with the various Rulers and Treaty Chiefs on the basis of treaties concluded with them.

There is no one Government for the Aden Protectorate; various Rulers and Chiefs are in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. The Protectorate includes the island of Socotra.

The administration of justice within the Colony is entrusted to the Supreme Court, a Court of Small Causes for certain specified civil cases and Magistrates' Courts for criminal cases. The law of the Protectorate is largely tribal custom, but in certain chiefdoms the Shari'a code of Moslem law is recognised, especially in the Quaiti State of Shihr and Mukalla (ruled by His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Quaiti, K.C.M.G.), which State legislates by published decrees.

During 1947 the local government of the Colony remained vested in the two Township Authorities, the larger being vested in the Fortress Township Authority and the area covered by it embracing the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population of close on 60,000. The Military and the R.A.F. establishments are within this area. The other Authority is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 21,000 persons, all non-European, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area covered by it includes this township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found four small coastal villages the inhabitants of which earn their livelihood mainly by fishing, basket-making and lime-burning, and who look to the built-up area of Sheikh Othman as their main shopping centre. The total population of these villages is approximately 2,000.

The members of the Boards which administer the local government of these two areas are at present appointed by the Governor. The Township Authorities hold fortnightly meetings to superintend the various municipal services such as the control of markets, the maintenance of public health and sanitary services and roads, the provision of recreational facilities for the public and the control of building operations. It has still been found necessary to maintain foodstuff stalls in the public markets in order to ensure that the majority of the population can purchase essential foodstuffs, such as sugar and rice, at Government controlled prices.

During the year the Authorities opened a new market for petty traders and hawkers, a new public bathing-place where baths, with soap and towels provided, can be secured at a nominal fee, and a new cattle stable to accommodate 350 milk cows at Sheikh Othman.

6;Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden

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6; Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden MM1

Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. In the past there has been pearl fishing, but this year no pearl fishing contract was taken.

There is a small Police detachment in the island together with medical staff and lighthouse staff.

There is no natural water supply on the island; sea-water distilling plant provides sufficient water for the supply of the population and for the occasional ship which comes in for emergency water supplies.

Up to the end of 1948 Cable & Wireless Ltd. maintained communication by marine cable. The cable became unserviceable in 1948, and it was decided not to repair it. It is likely that communication will soon be established by wireless. A R.A.F. airplane makes a flight to the island once weekly and carries mail and passengers from Aden.

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The Township Authorities hold fortnightly meetings in the exercise of their functions of superintending various services of municipal character, such as control of markets, maintenance of public health and sanitary

563 fallen below Indians in numbers and influence. There has thus been a temptation for the less responsible sections of the Arab press to transfer to Indians the animosity previously stirred up against the Jews as an alien and wealthy race, extorting inflated profits from the poor ignorant Arab.

648 The feeling of solidarity between Arabs and Pakistanis has been demonstrated on the visits of H.M. Pakistani ships of war. At the same time it must be placed on record that British and Indian ships have been given most cordial receptions.

641 Some constitutional advance was made by the reduction of the property qualifications for electors to the Township Authority of Fortress, and the introduction of an income qualification, which increased the number of voters from 1,600 to 5,000. The next election will be held in March, 1951.

647 Social work has been helped by the formation of a Social Welfare
746 Advisory Council, which includes unofficial representatives of all races, and a Labour Advisory Board, also with substantial unofficial representation, has been set up.

362 The shortage of housing remains one of the most important problems facing Government. Some 280 working-class houses have been built by Government at Sheikh Othman, but these replace insanitary mat houses which were destroyed as the new buildings became available, and do not provide additional accommodation; it is estimated that at least 2,000 new houses are needed. The Government is examining new methods of cheap and rapid construction, and seeking means of financing a substantial housing programme from Government or private funds.

643 His Excellency Sir Reginald Champion, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., proceeded on leave prior to retirement in October, 1950. He served in Aden from 1928 to 1934; he was appointed Chief Secretary in 1942 and Governor in 1944.

000 Visitors to Aden included Mr. Bevin and Mr. Creech Jones, who called briefly in transit, and Sir T. Lloyd, Permanent Under Secretary of State who made a comprehensive tour of the Colony and Protectorate.

DEVELOPMENT

652 The finances of the Colony continue in a healthy condition and revenue remains buoyant. The financial year 1949-50 ended with a deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs compared with an estimated deficit of nearly Rs. 40 lakhs. Expenditure exceeded the estimate by over Rs. 6 lakhs and revenue was up by over Rs. 36 lakhs. Unfortunately it was not possible to carry out the full programme under the development plan, and expenditure on capital works fell short of that programme by Rs. 22 lakhs. The excess of expenditure over the estimate was due mainly to extraordinary expenditure on revision of salaries and rehabilitation loans, all of which were paid during 1949-50. On the other hand, the Colony's surplus balances were written down by over Rs. 20 lakhs owing to the sharp fall in the value of investments at the end of the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden mm1

population excluding military has risen from 500 to 100,000 (according to the latest estimate). 504 175

The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is based on the fact that it is a refuelling station, originally for coal, and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade route to the oil companies' production centres in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused a general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Ethiopia, Somaliland and the African Coast. 504

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Chapter 3: Administration

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7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1
Hadhramaut MM2

ADEN COLONY

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There are two local government bodies in the Colony: the larger is known as the Fortress Township Authority and the area governed embraces the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population estimated to be 70,000. This area includes the Military and the R.A.F. establishments. The other is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 21,000 persons, all non-Europeans, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area governed includes this Township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found four small coastal villages whose inhabitants number approximately 2,500.

In 1949 the principle of election was first introduced into the constitution of the Fortress Township Authority, so as to provide three elected members in addition to the existing four nominated official and three nominated unofficial members. In Crater ward there were elections, resulting in the success of one Arab merchant and one Pakistani advocate who was previously a nominated member of the Authority. In the other ward objections were raised against two Arab candidates, who were found not to be of British birth, and a

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden mm1

APPENDIX

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

643

The Governor
The Chief Secretary
The Attorney General
The Financial Secretary
E. Cochrane, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., M.D.
J. Goepel
T. Hickinbotham, C.I.E., O.B.E.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Ex-Officio Members

646

The Air Officer Commanding, British Forces, Aden
The Chief Secretary
The Attorney-General
The Financial Secretary

Official Members

E. Cochrane, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., M.D.
J. Goepel
H. F. Kynaston-Snell, M.B.E.
A. M. Dibble, M.B.E.

Unofficial Members

T. Hickinbotham, C.I.E., O.B.E.
Sir M. A. K. Mackawee, K.B.E.
Khan Bahadur Muhammad Salim Ali
Seyid Abdu Ghanem
Dinshaw H. C. Dinshaw, O.B.E.
Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah
J. R. Kynaston, O.B.E.
S. M. Banin

Membership as at 31st December, 1950.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden MM1

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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden MM1

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The Protectorate includes the island of Socotra.

In addition under the provision of the Kamaran Order in Council, 1949, the Governor of the Colony is also Governor of Kamaran, a small island about 200 miles north of Perim on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. This island was formerly the site of a quarantine station but the station has been reduced to a care and maintenance basis.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There are two local Government bodies in the Colony. The larger is known as Fortress Township Authority and the area governed embraces the Isthmus and Peninsula with a civilian population estimated to be 80,000 to 100,000. This area includes the Military and the R.A.F. establishments. The other is known as Sheikh Othman Township Authority and takes its name from the built-up township of 30,000 persons, nearly all non-Europeans, situated some four miles from the Isthmus. The area governed includes this township and the remainder of the Colony in which are to be found small coastal villages whose inhabitants number approximately 2,500.

The Fortress Township Authority now includes three elected members in addition to four nominated official and three nominated unofficial members. At the 1951 elections two Arabs and one Pakistani, who unfortunately died during the period of his service, were elected. At the by-election an Arab newspaper editor was elected. Both the general and the by-election passed off without incident.

The qualifications for a voter are Aden or British birth and two years' residence, or foreign birth and five years' residence. In addition a voter must be a male of over twenty-one years and own property worth *Sh.*1,500, or pay rent of *Sh.*18 a month, or have an income *Sh.*200 a month. A candidate must be of Aden or British birth and possess the qualifications of a voter. At the 1951 elections the electoral roll for the Fortress Township contained the names of 4,930 persons. In the Sheikh Othman Township Authority area the people are not so developed politically and a fully nominated Authority is retained with three officials, one Arab resident and one European resident as members.

The Township Authorities hold fortnightly meetings to superintend various services of a municipal character, such as control of markets, the maintenance of public health and sanitary services, the maintenance and improvement of roads, the provision of recreation facilities and the control of building operations.